1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks. The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara, where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Asht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [531] [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[439] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Central Rifian Pottery

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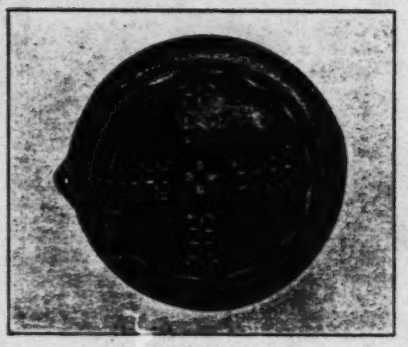

Targuist

Gennaya

Gennaya

Beni Urriaghel

[facing p. 76]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 24

CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY-BASKETRY

Bottom of unusual water-jug, showing entrance of cone through which pot is filled when lowered into a well. Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Side view of the same

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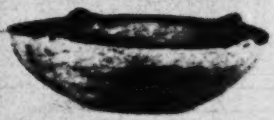

Bowl showing eastern influence in design. Temsaman

Making a wicker basket for raisins. Ulad Abd el Mumen, Iberrusben, Gzennaya

[285]

[177]

[facing p. 78]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

from Taghzuth. The Taghzuthis, who were craftsmen only in powder and firearms, have within the last generation taken over leatherwork and set themselves up as the foremost manufacturers of belts and bags. The Taghzuthi work is characterized by the stitching of narrow strips of colored leather diagonally in rows so as to form lines. These lines are always straight, and the designs produced by them form isosceles triangles and zigzags. Until recently white and green were the only colors employed for this purpose, but since the Spanish occupation other colors have come in, and the work has become coarser. (See plate 27.) Besides the ordinary belts and bags, the Taghzuthis now make wrist-watch straps and handbags, the former for the Spanish army, and the latter to be sent to the ports of the French zone and thence to America, and, to a lesser extent, to England and France.

Other old centers of the manufacture of bags and belts were Beni Misawr, a sub-tribe of el Khmes of the Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mohammed, situated between Beni Zerwal and el Khmes. The design on these Jebalan bags is curvilinear rather than rectilinear, and is characterized by three circles side by side on the front. The effect is produced by the stitching of leather strips, as at Taghzuth, and not by silk embroidery, as at Iyarusith of Temsaman.

Feminine Attire. Like men's clothing, the garments of women were formerly made entirely of wool. *thawthat*, the principal garment, consists of a long rectangular piece of woolen cloth. The upper corner of one end is held under the left armpit, with the lower corner falling by the left knee. The cloth is then wrapped around the body, from front to back, until it reaches the front again. A belt holds it together at the waist, and it is caught up back and front by each shoulder and fastened there by wooden pins or brooches. (See plate 26.) These brooches, called *thisghanes*, are made by Jews in Melilla, in the Jebarna section of the Shawia of Gsennaya, at Bades, and in Beni Bu Frah. The *thisghanes* consist of a triangular piece of silver or pewter, to which is attached a loose ring of the same material; there is a gap in the ring, through which the point end of the pin, of one piece with the triangle, may pass. To pin cloth together with this device, the ring is turned until the gap coincides with the pin; then the pin is thrust through the material, and the ring pressed beneath it and turned, so that it must stay under the pin. This type of brooch is not confined to the Rif, but is commonly found throughout North Africa.

thaghugat, the belt, bears the same name as the men's belt, although it is an entirely different object. The old style woman's belt is made of many cords of heavy woolen yarn of different colors caught together, and is locally considered an object of great beauty. This belt is wound around the waist many times, and a long end is left dangling behind. Ghomaran women wear broad belts of native cloth. (See plate 26.) *thaghugat n malagha*, the belt of Malaga, is a long red woolen belt with fringes at the end, manufactured in Spain and sold to the Riffians at Melilla. It is fast supplanting the heavier belt of native manufacture.

Feminine headwear is of two principal varieties:

1. *ifiran n thimgharin*, or women's braids, consist of long black threads of woolen yarn, which are braided into the hair near where it ends and then downward until they nearly touch the ground. Three of these *ifiran* are braided into each braid, and since the women divide their hair into two braids six *ifiran* are worn by each woman. The hair, supplemented by these long strands of black wool, may be left trailing or else tied around and around the head like a turban.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

2. *thashumbushth*, a cotton headcloth, tied over the bunched-up hair, is a more recent type of headdress which came in with the introduction of American cotton cloth. (See plate 26.) This cloth is generally white, although red and yellow are occasionally used. In the region where tie-dyeing is practiced a headcloth decorated in this manner is worn.

The garments just described, the *thawthat* and *ifiran*, were formerly the only garments worn by women, in winter as well as in summer. On exceptionally cold days women might occasionally put on a second *thawthat*, bringing it up over the head like a shawl.

el haik is the Arab haik, or woman's shawl. There is no word for this in the Riffian dialects. It is simply a square piece of cloth worn as a shawl. (See plate 26.) It is to be found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all Eastern Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Branes. *haah*, the men's haik, has been given a Riffian name. This is a light thinly-woven woolen scarf worn around the neck and back of the head, and generally tucked into the neck of the jellaba in front. It is considered of Arab origin, and is distributed through Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Shawia and Beni Mohammed of Gsennaya.

Since cotton cloth has come in, women's garments are losing their simple form and becoming tailored. Sleeved shirts, open at the neck and embroidered, are worn with wide trousers like those of the men and the red belts of Malaga. The result is a costume entirely different from that of a few years ago, but more decorative. This type of garment has not yet supplanted the *thawthat*, however, since the old style is still maintained by the older women and by many of the younger ones as well. As with other factors of material culture which depend on European introduction for their diffusion, the pattern of their dissemination seems to be sporadic and voluntary, and without cultural significance.

The garments of men are tailor-made by *tolba*, or students in the mosque, and women's garments must be made by the women themselves, although often men who have been students and have learned the art of embroidery make and embroider their wives' garments for them.

The silk with which embroidery is done is now largely European, and its dyes are not fast. Formerly all the silk used came from Tetwan, and often was not dyed until it arrived in the Rif; hence the dyes, the same as employed on wool and leather, were always fast. The Tetwan silk is still considered superior, but is increasingly difficult to obtain. There is no reason to believe that this native silk was not imported into the Rif in very early times, or since the inception of silk-worm cultivation in Morocco after the advent of the Arabs. El Bekri says that the Meknassa, a group just south of Gsennaya, paid tribute to the king of Nekor in cloth from Merv.[1]

The designs, the same as those formerly put on the bags and belts of Temsaman, are both curvilinear and rectilinear, the triangular or saw-toothed design predominating. A favorite design is a square capsule, decorated on the inside with sawteeth, and surmounted on the small ends with curved lines reminiscent of the ancient Libyan ostrich plumes. Designs found by Bates to be characteristic of the ancient Libyans are still recognizable in Riffian embroidery.[2] A favorite design employed on the hoods of jellabas and on the cuffs

[1] El Bekri, p. 157.

[2] Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*, Pl. III, and pp. 137, 139, 140) gives drawings of similar Libyan designs, mainly in the form of tattoo marks.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

294 531 is a cogged wheel with four spokes. On the hood this design is complete, but on the cuff only half of it is represented. This design is difficult to explain, owing to the utter absence of wheels for purposes of traction in the Rif, unless it be connected with a prehistoric sun-motif.

Riffian embroidery is characterized by another peculiar feature, the presence of short tufts of silk set at intervals on the borders of the designs. The tufts are much more prominent in the embroidery of the Maritime tribes of the western Rif and of the Ghomara than in that of the eastern or central Rif. (See plate 27.)

291 **Footwear.** Footwear was formerly restricted to men, women going barefoot at all times. The harshness of this prohibition was somewhat mitigated by the fact that women seldom went out of doors in winter when snow was on the ground.

Masculine footwear is divided into sandals, buskins, stilts, and clogs, and these types have a most significant and interesting distribution. There are two kinds of sandals (*tbisira*), those made of *halfa* grass and those made of scrub palmetto.

The *halfa* sandals are constructed as follows: the maker braids a rope of *halfa*, about eight to ten feet long. He then ties this in a ring, and presses it to an oval representing the size and shape of the foot. The long piece, dangling from the knot, he draws between the sides of the oval so as to make a third strand in the middle, and runs what is left over and under these three pieces until the intervening spaces have all been filled in. Thus he has obtained a flat foot-shaped sole. By loosening strands, he inserts the remaining cord, still uncut, so as to form straps for attachment. The cord goes around the heel in back, and crosses itself over the toes, not going between any of the toes. The loose end is cut to a convenient length, and when the sandals have been put on and the cord tightened, it is tied at the cross in the front-straps. This makes an extremely convenient and durable sandal, easily put on and taken off, and one that will not slip on rocks or come off unexpectedly. (See plate 28.)

The palmetto sandals are made as follows: the maker braids a long cord of palmetto leaves, and coils these into a flat oval; then with a thinner cord of the same material and a wooden needle he sews the sole together from side to side; the resultant sole is the same type as that of the rope sandals worn by the Basques and by many Spaniards. This sole is, of course, but one braid in thickness, and is not nearly so durable as that of the *halfa* sandal.

The palmetto sandal differs from the *halfa* type not only in the construction of its sole but also in its attachment to the foot. In the palmetto type the cord left over from the sole is cut free, knotted at one end, and then run through the sole from beneath at a point between the great and second toes. From here it is looped through one side of the sole, carried around so as to form a heel-strap, looped through the other side, and attached to itself at a point two inches from where it emerges from the sole, between the toes. This attachment may be spliced in and permanent, or tied on and temporary, permitting later adjustment. The straps on the *halfa* sandal are always tied so that they may be adjusted later. (See plate 28.)

The toe-strap sandal is much easier to slip on and off than the cross-strap type, but is not nearly so durable. The sole wears out much more quickly than that of the cross-strap type, and the toe-strap is likely to pull through the sole. Thorns and other sharp objects pierce the toe-strap type, but seldom penetrate the cross-strap variety.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

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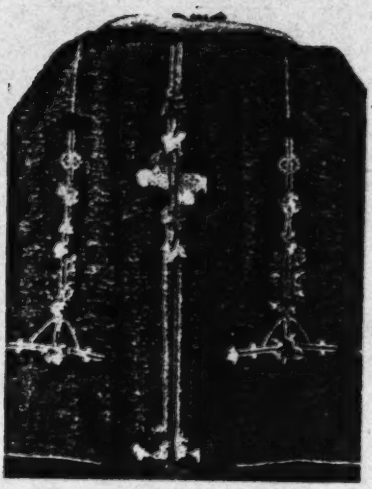
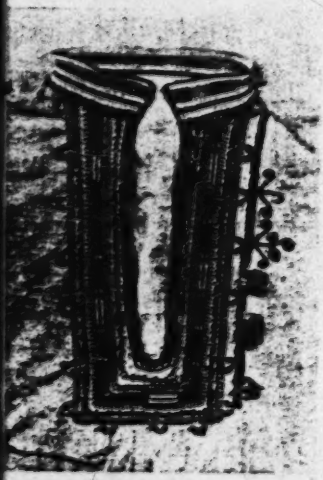
Taghsuthi serip



Jellaba embroidery, Temsaman



Embroidery on woman's shirt.
Beni Urriaghel

Old Riffian serip

[facing p. 88]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

291 [197] Rifian women present a different picture (fig. 3, *g*). They never wear leggings and are almost always barefoot. Sneakers may be worn on special occasions, but one never sees slippers. In recent years the Rifian markets have been flooded with inexpensive rubber shoes, usually green in color, which some of the younger women have adopted.

[531] Brilliant colors characterize the Rifian woman's outer robe, which is usually of red or yellow silk, worn over an inner robe of white cotton. Rifian women have recently begun to wear baggy trousers, usually blue. Unmarried girls wear a wide cotton headband with brightly colored embroidery, which is partly covered by [171] a head towel. Married women in the mountains of Aith Tuzin and Aith Wariyaghar, and both married and single women in Sanhaja as-Srair, wear strands of black yarn around the crown of the head (fig. 3, *f*). One of the distinctive features of Rifian dress is a red woolen belt introduced about a generation ago [171] from Melilla. It is worn by most Rifian women, but has not been adopted in [184] Ghmara or Sanhaja as-Srair. In summer many Rifian women wear straw hats, but they do not approximate the huge size of the Jbalan "sombreros."

In general, there is a distinct difference in the pattern of women's dress in the [184] Rif and in the western provinces. The brilliant yellow and red robes of the Rifian [171] women are in striking contrast to the somber garments of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. These differences coincide with other cultural frontiers. The human geography of northern Morocco is a complicated pattern of areal succession and overlap; yet many lines coincide, and it is possible to speak of "culture areas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[a] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[b]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[c] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[d] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[e] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[a] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[b] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[c] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[d] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[e] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).